2005 ( ) 12 – 39



| i      |               |
|--------|---------------|
| 1      | : .1          |
| 1      | -             |
| 7      | -             |
| 9      | 2             |
| 9      | -             |
| 13     | -             |
| 20     | -             |
| 20     | .1            |
| 23     | .2            |
| 26     | .3            |
| 30     | .3            |
| 30     | -             |
| 31::   | -             |
| 32     | ···· <u> </u> |
| 36     | .4            |
| 37     | -             |
| 40     | _             |
| 42     | : .5          |
|        |               |
| 49     |               |
| 50     | <del>-</del>  |
| 512002 | <del>-</del>  |
| 53     | -             |



2005 ( ) 12 39

)

(

)

2004

)

ii 2005 ( ) 12 – 39

.

· :

.1

\_

( )

1960

( )

1559

·

()

2005 ( )

----· ( )

( )

( )

.2005

iii 2005 ( ) 12 – 39

.7 .2 1559 () ( ) .8 ( ) ( ) .9 ( ) ( ) 30 20 .10 () .11 .3 .12 .4 425 .13 1559 .5 2005 .14 .6 .( )

2005 ( ) 12 – 39

: .15

.22

. 1559 .16

.23

.24

425

.25

2005 12 / /

.19

.425

.20

( ) 30 20

.21

.

| 2005 ( ) | 12 |   | 39 |      |     |      |      |        |    |
|----------|----|---|----|------|-----|------|------|--------|----|
|          |    |   |    |      |     |      |      |        |    |
|          |    |   |    |      |     |      |      | :      | .1 |
|          |    |   |    |      |     |      |      |        | -  |
| 2003 (   | )  |   |    |      |     |      |      |        |    |
|          |    |   |    |      |     |      |      | (      | )  |
|          |    |   |    |      | (1) |      | •    |        |    |
| :        |    |   |    |      |     | :    | 2000 | -      |    |
|          |    |   |    | 11   |     |      |      | 2001 ( | )  |
|          |    |   |    |      |     |      |      | •      |    |
| (        |    | : | )  |      |     | (    | )    |        |    |
|          | (  |   | )  |      |     |      |      |        |    |
|          |    |   |    |      | _   |      |      |        |    |
|          |    |   |    |      |     |      |      |        |    |
| ·        |    |   |    |      |     |      |      |        |    |
|          |    |   |    | ./1) |     | " 22 |      | . 16   | (1 |

(1): 23 عرايسز جروب " 11 2004 ع 3 2 3 3 ع

```
(5)
                                 2004
     (6)"
     (7)
                                        (2)
                .(8)
                                                     (3)
                                        .(9)
                                               700
                                                                                        2000
       1000
   ( )
                            " .^{(10)}2004
                                                                                       (2)
                                                     2004 (
   (11)"
                                        2004 ( )
                                                      24
                                                                             23
                                .(
                                                                               2004 ( )
                                       (5)
                             .2004 (
                           كرايسز جروب
                    .2004 (
                                       (7)
      ( )
                              .2004 (
                                                     8
  .2004 ( )
                  24
                                                                               .2004 ( )
                                                                   2
                            28 " "
Arabicnews.com: 2004 ( )
                                                    .2004(
                           .2005 ( )
                                                                   .2004 ( ) 5
                                       10
                                       (10)
               20
                                                            (
                                                                 )
                                                 كرايسز جروب 9 ( ) 2004.
 .2005 ( )
             3 2
                                       (11)
     2004 ( ) 1
                                                        .2004 (
```

```
(12)"
                                                                          2004 ( )
                                                                                                       (13)"
                   2005 ( )
                                         2
                                                                   .2004 (
                                                                                )
                                                                                           4
                                                                                                                  (16)
                                                                          2005 (
                                                                                  )
                                                                             264
                                                                                                        4
     " (17)
                    .(18)"
                                                                    .(14)"
                                                                      2005 ( )
                                                                                                                  (19)
                                                                          (IOM)
                                            .(20)
                                                                                                 (15)
                                                                                                                 (12)
                                                                  2004 ( )
                                                                                                                 (13)
                                                                                                كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                               2004
                          .(21)
                                                                                                                 (14)
                                                                )
                                                                             12
                                                                                                              .2005
                                                                                                                (15)
                                                   (16)
                3
                                                                                .2005 (
                                                                                         )
2005 (
                  2
          )
                       http://www.whitehouse.gov/news
                     releases/2005/02/20050202- 11.html
                                                   (18)
    .2005 ( )
                                                   (19)
          "(1)
                                                             (16583)
  .19
                              كرايسز جروب
                                                   (20)
     )
                                                                                         45000
                                                .2004
                                                   (21)
```

```
.(22)
                                                                               .(23)
          )
                                                                                                          (24)
                                                                                          (25)
                                                                                               .(26)"
                (28)
                                                                     )
                                                                                        .(
                                                                                     (27)
                                                                                  .2004 ( )
                                                                 .2004 (
                                                                                               كرايسز جروب
                                                                  2004 (
                                                                                                                (23)
                                                                                                                (24)
                                                                2004 ( )
                                                                                                   .2005 (
                    (29)
                                                                                                                (25)
                                                  (28)
2005( )
                                                               .18
                                                                       "(1)
                 .2005 ( )
                                                  (29)
                                                                                                      .2004 (
                                                                                                                )
                                                                     " 24
    3
                                          .2005 ( )
                                                                   .2005 ( )
                                                                                11 "
                                                                                                        :(2)
```

```
(35)
                                                                          (30)
                                                                  (31)
                                                           (32)
                                                                  (33)
  2000
                                        ( )
                                                                  (34)2004
                                           .2005 ( ) 11
        (
       .(36)
                                           12
                                                                  .2004 ( )
                                                              26 "
                                                                    " 21
                                                 2004 ( )
                                          18
             (
                                        2002 ( ) 18 "
                                                                 .15 13
                                                              5 .
                                                    .2005 ( )
                                          كرايسز جروب
                                           29
                                                                 .2004 ( )
                                                                  ıı (31)
                                                                 .2004 ( )
                                                                        (32)
                                          . كرايسز جروب
                                            2004 ( )
                                                                ( )
                                           ( )
                                 (35)
 .2005 ( )
                                                                         (33)
2004 ( )
                                           27
                                                                .2004 (
                                 (36)
                                                                        (34)
    كرايسز جروب 9 ( ) 2004
                                               .2004 ( )
                                                              6
```

<u>2005 (</u> ) 12 – 39

```
8
                                              (37)
                      2004 ( )
2000-1999
                                            (38)
                                     .(
  2004 ( )
                                                                        )
                                                                  (
                                                         (39)
       (40)
                     ( )
                                                                                (37)
                                           .2004 ( )
                                              )
           (41)
                                            27
                            )
                                                                   .2004 ( )
                                                                                (38)
                                                 ) 4
                                                                 كرايسز جروب
                                                                  :(3)
                                                        .2002 ( ) 16 .
                                                        1967 ( ) 4
                                    72
                                  (40)
                                                                       .2004 (
                   .2005
  )
           2
                              كرايسز جروب
                                  .2004
                                   (41)
                                            24
               15 ( )
.2004 ( )
                .2004 ( ) 25
```

```
.(42)
                                                              (2004 "
                                                                       <sup>(43)</sup>"2005 ( )
                                                                                  (44)
                                                             .(45)"
         (46)
 .(47) u
                         2005 ( )
                                         25
                        (48)
                                                                                           (42)
                                                                   .2004 ( )
                                                  24
                                                                          .2004 ( )
                                                  ( )
                                                              .2005 ( ) 14 (BBC)
                                                                                         .2005
                                                                               .2005 (
2001 ( )
                                                                             ( )
                                                           2000-1999
                                                  40
                                         (46)
   2004 (
            )
                                         (47)
                                                                            .2004 ( )
   .2004 (
            )
                                         (48)
                      .2005 ( )
                                    27
                                                    .2005 ( ) 30
                                                                                           (45)
                                                            .2004 ( )
                                                                             28
```

```
)
                               (54)
                                            2004
(56)
                         (55)
                                                                           (50)
                                 .(57)<sub>"</sub>
                                                                       2004 (
                                                                                   )
                                                                                               3
                                            .(58)
                                                             (51)<sub>"</sub>
                                                                                               (52)"
                            2004 ( )
                                                  (54)
                                                                                                          (53)
                                                                                                               (49)
       .2005 (
                                                  (55)
      .2005 ( ) 27
                                                 )
                                         :2004 (
                                                  (56)
                                                                                               .2005 ( )
                                                                                                               (50)
        2004 ( )
                                                  (57)
                                               )
                                                                                 .2005 ( ) 7 (
                                                                                                               )
                                                                                                               (51)
                                                                       .2005 ( )
                                                                                                              (52)
     )
               16
                                                               )
                                                                                                             .2005
                                                .2004
28
                                                             ( )
                                                                                               كرايسز جروب
                                 .2004 (
                                                                                                             .2005
                                                  (58)
                                                                      .2005 (
 .2005 ( ) – ( )
                                                                         .2005 ( ) 4
```

```
(59)
                                                       2005 ( )
                        (
                             )
                                                                                          (60)
                                                                                           .(61)
1984-1982
                                   )
                 )
(62)(
 )
        <sup>(63)</sup>(
                                           (62)
      .2004 ( )
                                                                                                (59)
                                                              155
                                                                           %15
                                                      .2004 ( )
                                                                     25
                                            7
                                                                     13.4
                                                           26
                                                                                        9.8
                                                                                        " 2005 ( )
                                           (63)
                                                            .2005 ( ) 3
                                                                                              (61)
                                                             2004 ( )
               500
                        300
               )
   %7
                                                             125
                                                                                    2005 ( )
                                                              .2005 ( ) 28
        28
```

```
(67)
                                                  14.000
                                                                  30.000
                                                         (64)
                                                                8000
                                                                           2004 ( )
         (68)
                 (69)
(
 )
                                     .2004
                                                      .(65)"
                                                      )
                                                                              (
                                       (67)
               1559
  ) 1559
   (
                                                    (66)"
                       1974
                                     1978
                 2005 ( ) 7 .(
                                      1595
                                      (68)
    .2005 ( ) –( )
                             2002
                      (2)
    2002 (
          )
      27
                                .2004 ( )
                 - ( 2
.2004
                                                                     2005 -1993
                                               7
                                                                                     .2005
                                      (69)
                                                     .2005 ( ) 8
                                                        .2005 ( ) 1
                                                                                       (64)
                                                                                       (65)
                                                        2005 (
                                                                                       (66)
                                                        2005 ( )
  .2005 ( ) 2004 ( )
```

2005 ( ) 12 - 39

```
(70)
        2004 ( ) 14
                                                              1559
                                                                                        2004 ( )
                                                            (71)
                                          2005
(
     )
                .(75)<sub>"</sub>
                                                                              1559 ":
         )
                                                                         (72)"
                                                                                 1559
                                          1559
                                                                                    (73)
                                                                                               ı (70)
                   .2005 (
                                                                         .2004 ( )
                                26
                                            (74)
                                                                                                 (71)
    .2005 ( )
                   15
                                                                                 .2004
                                                                                         1559
                                                     ( )
                                                                                                .2005
      .2005( )
                                                              2004 (
                                                                                   كرايسز جروب
                                            (75)
                                                                                                  (73)
                                                                        2004 26
  ( ) 25
                               ."2005 ( )
                                                                          .2005 ( ) 20
```

24

(76)" 1559 .(77) .(78) .(79) . .(80)" 2005 ( ) 31 .2005 ( ) 4 (76) كرايسز جروب (77) 1559 .2005 ( ) 9-3 .(81)<sub>"</sub> ( ) 3 .2005 ıı (78) .2005 ( ) ( ) –( ) (79) (80) .2005 ( ) (81) 2005 ( ) 10 .2005

( ) "1 (82) .(85) .(86) 2005 ( ) .(83) .2005 ( ) **u** (85) (82) .2002 ( .2005 ( ) (83) .2005 ( )

(86)

.2005 ( )

.2005 ( )

2005 ( ) 12 – 39

*2005 ( ) 12 - 39* 

```
1976
                                                              (87)
                                1559
                                                                      (88)
  )
  %6
                                    .(91)
                                                                                                    (89)
                                                           (90)
                                                                                                           (87)
                              (92)
                                                                                                           (88)
                                                                      Reinoud Leenders, Divided We Rule:
                                                                                                           (89)
                                                                                          2000
                                                                           .2000 ( ) 7
                                                (91)
                                                                                                           (90)
                                                                                 2004 ( )
              %5.4
                  .2004 ( )
2000
              .1934-1932
                                                                    27
                                              %5.6
                                                (92)
    2000
                                                                                                  .2004 (
                                                                                                             )
                                                                           2005 (
```

*2005 ( ) 12 - 39* 

```
.(
                                                                                                    )
                2004 ( )
                                                         )
               (95)
                                                                                              (
                                                      .(93)
                                                                      %23
                                                     ( ) (
                                                                            )
                                                                                             .(94)2001
                  2004 ( )
                                         13
                                                                                            )
(96)
                                                         (
                                                               )
                                                                             2002 ( )
                                                                   )
                   (97)
                                            (95)
6
                             .2004 (
                                    )
                                            (96)
        2004 (
                            18
                                                                                                  (93)
                                                             %20.5
                                                                                          %22.1
                                                                                           .2005 (
           .2005 ( ) 1
                                                                                           1994 (
                                                             .1994
                                                                                        1990
                                                        .1997 ( )
                .2004 (
                                 26
                                            (97)
www.beirttletter.com
                                                                  )
                                                                           (
                                             )
                    (
                                                                                                    )
```

<u>2005 ( ) 12 - 39</u>

```
(101)
                                                                            .2005 (
                                                                                       )
                                                                                                   27
                                                                       (
                                                                               )
                                                                                        1990
                                                                                                    .(98)
                                        .(102)
                                                                                    ( )
             .(103)
                                                                                      1992
                                                                             2005 (
                                                                                       )
                                                                                     (
                                                                                          )
    16
                                                                                                            )
                                                                                                      (
                                          2005 (
                                                     )
                                                                                                             (100)
                                                   (101)
                                 كرايسز جروب
                                   8
                  .2005 (
                            )
                                                   (102)
                                    1960
                       )
    2005 ( )
    .(
                                                      )
                                                                                       .2005 (
                                                                                                       14
                                                                                                                    (98)
                                              )
                                                                                                      .5:6
                                 27
             .2005 (
                                             .(
                                                                                                                    (99)
                                                    (103)
               2000
                                       68
                               2002 ( )
                                                                                          1996 1992
                                                                         2000
                                                                                         (1996
Gary
                                                                . (2002
                                                                          ) 2000
Gambill, "Objectives of the MTV Closure and Ensuing
                                                                                                                   (100)
         Crackdown", in Middle East Intelligence Bulletin,
                                                               ( )
                                                                                                  كرايسز جروب
                                           .2002 ( )
                                                                                                                 .2005
```

```
.(108)
                                    .(109)
                         (110)"
                        2005 ( ) 18
                                                                         (104)"
                                                              (105)
(
                                       (111)
    )
            28
                                                                                           (106)"
                             (112)"
                                                                                             (107)
                                                                                                  (104)
                                                             .2005 (
                                                                    ) 14
                                                                                                  (105)
                           .2005 ( ) 1
                                            (108)
    .2005 ( )
                              كرايسز جروب
                                            (109)
                       .2005 ( ) 26
                                                                        .2005 (
                                                                                    18
                                                                                                  (106)
(
                                            (110)
    ) 3
                             كرايسز جروب
                                                               .2005 ( ) 1
                                                                                                  (107)
                                                                )
                                           .2005
                                                        (
                                            (111)
          .2005 (
                     ) 18
                                            (112)
       .2005 ( )
                      28
                                                                  كرايسز جروب ( ) 2005.
"
           .2005 (
                   ) 28
```

*2005 ( ) 12 - 39* 

```
.(113)"
                                                                    (
                                                                                                       )
1559
             (118)
                                                                                     ) 14
        1559
                                                                                        (114)
             (
                            )
                                                           (115)<sub>"</sub>
                       (119)
                                                                           (116)
                                        .(120)
                                                                                            ( - )
                                                                               ·(117)
                                                (118)
                                                                                          كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                           (113)
                                                               28
                                                                                                   .2005 ( )
                                                (119)
                                                                                                           (114)
                                                                                                   14
                                                              800
                                                                                           ( )
                                                                                         14
   .2004 (
           )
                      29
                                                                             .2005 (
                                                (120)
                                                                                         كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                          (115)
                                                             )
                                         .2005 ( )
                                                                                                         .2005
                                                                                                          (116)
                                                                                                         (117)
                                                          ( )
                                                                                         كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                         .2005
```

```
.(121)
                                                                                                  5
                                                                                               )
                                                          )
                                                                                                   (
                                                               (122)
(125)"
                                                                             (123)
(126)
                                                              (124)
                                                        " كرايسز
                                                              .2005 ( ) 3
   )
%80
                %20
                                                                           كرايسز جروب
                                                                               .2005 ( ) 4
                                                                                               كرايسز جروب
                  )
                                                                                     .2005 (
                                          (
                                                                                                     (121)
                                                           .2005 ( )
                                                                                      كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                      (122)
                                                         .2005 ( ) 7
                                                                                                      (123)
( )
                                             (125)
                               كرايسز جروب
                                                                                        .2005 (
                                            .2005
                                                                                                     10
                                              (126)
                                                                .2005 (
                                                                         )
                                                                               11
                                                                                                      (124)
    كرايسز جروب ( ) 2005.
                                                           .2005 ( )
                                                                                       كرايسز جروب
```

2005 ( ) 12 - 39

```
.(129)
                                          (130)
                                                                    .(127)
                                                                                     (
                                                                                           )
                                                                                                 14
    2005 (
.(131)
                                                                                                        .( )
                                                                                  .1559
                                                                                 (128)"
                                               .(132)
                                    كرايسز جروب
           .2005 (
                    )
                           3
    7
                                            .2005 ( )
                                                                                                                       -1
                 2000
                        " http://www.libanvote.com :
                                                 %60
  )
                    كرايسز جروب
                       .2005 (
                                              %24.6 <sup>(131)</sup>
                                   %39.2
           11
                                                   %36
                                                   .2005
                                                     (132)
                                                                                                                       (127)
                                                                             .2005 (
                                                                                                                       (128)
                                                                             .2005 (
      .2003
```

```
(133)
                                                            (134)
          (
                                    (136)"
                                                                           )
                          (137)
                         (138)"
(139)
                                                                 )
                             (140)
                                                                                             (135)
                                             (136)
   4
                              كرايسز جروب
                                        .2005 ( )
                                             " (137)
          2005 ( )
                                                                                                           (133)
                                               (138)
                                               (139)
               كرايسز جروب
                                                                                         .2005 ( )
                                                                                                          (134)
                                                                                          كرايسز جروب
                             .2005 ( )
                                                                                                         .2005
                                                                                                          (135)
3
        كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                " :(
                                    .2005 ( )
                 .2005 ( ) 4
                                      كرايسز جروب
                                               (140)
                                                                           .2005 (
                                                                                     ) 15 ( )
                                         [
                                                                             %90.6
                                              جروب
                                                                                 .2005 ( ) 11
                                              2005
```

```
(141)
(145)
                                                                                     )
                                                                                      (2000
                 .(146)"
                                                                                                                             )
                                                                                                    (143)
(
     )
             8
                                                  - 2005
                                                                                      .(144)
                                              (147)
                                                                                                                           (141)
                                                  (148)
                                                                    كرايسز
         (149)"
                                                                             2005 (
                                                                                                                         جروب
                                                                                                                          (142)
                                                                            .2005 (
                                                                    كرايسز
  %26.2
                                                                             .2005 (
                                                                                        )
                                                                                                                         جروب
                                                                                                                         ıı (143)
                  .2005 (
                                                                    كرايسز
                                                                      .2005 (
       21
                                                                                                                         جروب
                                                                                                                           (144)
                                                                                                  1989
                  %20.5
                                  %29.5
                                                                                                       1990
                                                       (145)
(
     )
           4
                                                     .2005
                                                       (146)
   8
                                     كرايسز جروب
                                                                    Joseph Maila, The Document 1992
                                              .2005 (
                                                        )
                                                                    .of National Understanding:A Commentary (Oxford, 1992)
                                                       (147)
                                                                    Albert Mansur, al-Inqilab 'ala "
         .2005 (
                          8
                                     كرايسز جروب
                                                       (148)
                                                                    Albert "
                                                                                                         .1993
                                                                                                                       at-Ta'if
                                                       (149)
                                                                                     .1994
                                   كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                   Mansur, Mawt Jumhuriya
                        .2005 (
                                         1
```

```
(154)
                                                                                                   .(150)<sub>"</sub>
         (155)
                                                                                                                  -2
                                                                                                 2003 ( )
                                            (156)
                                                                        1984
                                                                                                  (151)<sub>"</sub>
                                                                                                            (152)"
                                                                  2000 ( )
                                                   (154)
                            12 10
                         2005 ( )
                                             30
                                                 .2005
                                                                                                         (153)<sub>"</sub>
                                                   (155)
                              كرايسز جروب
       كرايسز جروب - )
                                                  12
                                             .14
                                                   (156)
                          2005 ( )
                               18
                                                                                                                  (150)
                                                                         .2005 (
                                                                                                 كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                                  (151)
                                                                     )
                                                                                                كرايسز جروب
                                                                        7
         :2005 ( )
                                                                                               ) 30 (
                                                                                      2003 (
                                                                                                 .2003 21
                                                                                                                  (152)
16
                                           كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                                  (153)
                                      .2005 ( )
                                                                                                 كرايسز جروب
```

```
(2004 "
                                                                                    .(157)"
                                                                                 (158)
                                           (162)
                                                                     .(159)<sub>"</sub>
           (163)
               (164)
                                                                                .(160)
                                                    (162)
-16
                               كرايسز جروب
                                                    .18
                                      9409
      2000
                                      3 "
                     .2005
                                                                                                     (161)
    21
      .2005
                     20 "2005
                                             2004 ( )
                                       20
                                                    (163)
                                                                                                                    (157)
       .17
                                                                           .2004 ( )
                                                                                           19
                                                   (164)
                                                                                                                    (158)
                                                                                                   كرايسز جروب
                                                                                              .2005 ( ) 16
                                                                                                                    (159)
                                                                                                                    (160)
                                                                Hussein Agha, "
                                          (
                                               )
                                                                                     .2004 (
                                                                                                  ) 23 Bitterlemons
```

(161)

كرايسز جروب

.2005 ( )

.197 2005 26

```
25 2005 ( ) 12 - 39
```

```
(165)
205 ( )
                                                                     )
               8
                                                                                                      (
                                                                              (166)
                                                                                                      (167)
                             (172)
                                                                                           (168)
 )
      .(173)<sub>"</sub>
                                          (
                                       2003
                                          .(174)"
                                                                                                     (169)"
                                                                                                     2004
                                                                                                     (170)"
                                                                   .(171)
                                                                                                           (165)
                                                              6
                                                                                                   .2005 ( )
                                                                                                         ıı (166)
                                                                                           كرايسز جروب
               ":
                                                                                               .2005 (
                                                                                                         (167)
                                                                  PSP
                                                                                           كرايسز جروب
                                                                                               .2005 (
                                                                                                          (168)
                                                             كرايسز جروب
               .2004 (
                                               (172)
                             كرايسز جروب
                                       .2005 ( )
                                                                       .2005 ( )
                                                                                      16 .
                                               (173)
                                                                                                           (169)
                        .2005 ( ) 16
                                                                      .2004 ( )
                                                                                           28
                                                                                                           (170)
                                                                        .2004 ( )
                                                                                            29
                                                                                                           (171)
                                                                2004 ( )
                                                                                           كرايسز جروب
                                               (174)
    .18
```

```
) "
                      (179)
                                                                     (175)"
                                              1983 (
                              (180)
                                                                  .(176)<sub>"</sub>
                                  (181)
                                                                                                            -3
                                                                              :(177)
                                                                              1559
                                                                                                          .2004 ( )
                                    كرايسز جروب 24
                       1559
                                                                                ) 1989
                                  ].
                                              ]
                                                                                            )
                                                                                    (
                                                                                             (178)
            .2005 (
Theodor Hanf, "
                                                                                                            (175)
         (1993
                                                                      .2005 (
                  ) Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon
                                                                                  16
                                                                                                            (176)
                                                           ( ) 1
                                                                                            كرايسز جروب
                                           .283-282
                                                (181)
:
                                                                                                          .2005
                                                                                                            (177)
                                                                                          .2005 (
                                                                                                          ıı (178)
                                   .2005 (
                                                           كرايسز جروب
                                                6
                                                               .2005 (
                                                                                                          1559
      .2005 ( ) 7 " " ( )
                                                                              1559
```

```
.(182)
         (187)
                                                                                                         .(183)
                                        8
                                                                                        .(184)
                                                                                                         1559
                                                           (185)
              180
                                                                                           (186)
              (188)
                                              (182)
                                                                     .2005 (
                                                                                                           (183)
.(189)
                                                                        )
    (190)
                                                           .2005 (
                                                           ( )
                                                (187)
                                كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                          .2005
                                                                                                           (184)
                                    .2005 (
                                                )
                                كرايسز جروب
                                                (188)
          .2005 (
                                                              10
                                كرايسز جروب
   4
                                                                      .2005 ( )
                                                                                                           (185)
                                        .2005 ( )
                                                                     .2005 ( )
                                كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                           (186)
   7
                                                                                          كرايسز جروب
                                        .2005 ( )
                                                                           .2005 ( ) 1
```

```
.<sup>(195)</sup>(
                                                                                    (191)
                   (196)
                                                          )
                     .(197)
                                                                                     (192)
      (
                                         )
(
                                                                         (193)"
(198)
                                                                                     (194)
                    .2005 ( ) 7 "
                                            (195)
                                                                                                  ıı (191)
                .2005 ( ) 2
                                            (196)
                   .2005 ( ) 29
                 2005 ( ) 19
                                            (197)
.2005 ( )
             31 .
                                                                          .2005 (
                                                                                    ) 1
                                .2005 ( ) 3
                                                                                       .2005 (
                                                                                                 ) 1
                                            (198)
                                                                 .2005 ( )
                                                                                                    (192)
                                                                                     كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                    (193)
         .2005 ( )
                                                                .2005 ( ) 3
                        10
                                                                                                    (194)
```

```
.(199)
                                  (200)
          (201)
                                       1559
                                                           .2005 (
                                                                        18
                                                                           .2005 ( )
              (202)
                                                                          ". كرايسز جروب
                                                                         2005 ( )
                                                                                )
                                                                          .2005 (
                                                                                      (
                                                                          2005 ( ) 8 (199)
            (203)"
                                                            1141
                                                             ".2005 ( ) 11
               (204)
                                                  كرايسز جروب
                                                             .(
                                                                                   )
                                                 ( ) 10
                                        (200)
   4
                          كرايسز جروب
                                                                                        .2005
                                .2005 (
                                        )
                                        (201)
              .2005 ( )
                           كرايسز جروب
                                        (202)
(
 )
          ( )
                          كرايسز جروب
                                                     (
                                       .2005
                                        (203)
                                                                            2004 ( )
        .2005 ( ) 3
                                                                 )
                                        (204)
                 ( )
                                                       (
                                                                     كرايسز جروب
                                                                     .2004 ( )
                                                                                        ( )
                                                               2005
         .2005 ( ) 7
```

```
(208)
                                                                                                               -3
                                      (209)"
                              (210)"
                              (211)"
                               .(212)"
                                                                                                         .(205)"
                                         .(213)<sub>"</sub>
                                                                     .(206)"
                         (214)"
                                              (208)
                             كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                  __(207)
                  .2005 ( ) 2004 (
                                             )
                                              (209)
                            كرايسز جروب
      .2004 (
                 )
                                              (210)
                           كرايسز جروب
                   .2004
                                              (211)
  (
              )
                           ايسز جروب
                          .2004 ( )
                                              (212)
                             كرايسز جروب
                        .2004
كرايسز جروب
                                  .2004
                                              (213)
                           كرايسز جروب
                                                          8
                                     .2004 (
                                                                                                  .2005 (
                                              )
                                              (214)
                                                                                                               (205)
                             كرايسز جروب
                                                                   .2005 ( ) 16
                                                                                              كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                              (206)
                                                                     .2005 ( )
                            .2004
                                                                                              كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                              (207)
                                                              )
                                                                                             كرايسز جروب
                                                          (
                                                                     4
                                                                                                             .2005
```

```
.(218)"
  .(219)
                                                           (215)
                                      .(220)
                             .(221)"
                                                                                                 .1559
                                                                                                (216)
                                                                                                 )
         600
                                                                 .(217)
                                                               كرايسز جروب
                                                                              .2004
                                                                                        1
                                            (218)
                                                                                                    (215)
     .2005 ( )
                                                      ( )
                                                                                     كرايسز جروب
                                            (219)
                                                                                                   .2004
                                                                                                    (216)
                                                                       كرايسز جروب
                                                                                   .1559
                                                                                  .2005 ( )
                                                                                                   2004
                                                                                                    (217)
.2005 ( )
              3
                       ". كرايسز جروب
                                            (220)
                           كرايسز جروب
                                                      . كرايسز جروب
                                                                                           2004 ( )
                                                              .2004 ( )
            .2004 (
                             -( )
                       )
```

(221)

كرايسز جروب

.2004 (

.2004 ( ) 18 " "

```
.(222)
                                                            2004 (
                                                                        )
                                                            (223)
                                                                             200
                                                                                                        .(224)
                                                                            (225)
                                                                                             (226)"
                                                                                             (227)"
  )
1975
                               (
         )
                                                                                                             (222)
                                                                  .2004 (
                                                                                                             (223)
                                                                             2004 ( )
                                                                                             30
      --(
                                                                            .2004 ( )
                                                                                    .http://www.nabilfayyad.com/
                          1998
                                         (228)
                                                                                .2004 ( )
                                                                                       2004 ( )
                                                               21
                                                                                                      .2004 ( )
                            .(229)"
                                                                          كرايسز جروب
                                                                                       .2004 ( )
                                                                                                             (225)
                                                                                             كرايسز جروب
                                                                    1
                                                (228)
2004 ( )
                              كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                    .2004 (
                                                                                                             )
                                                                                                             (226)
                               .2005 ( )
                                                                                             كرايسز جروب
                                                                 24
                                كرايسز جروب
                                                (229)
                                                                                                .2004 (
                                                                                                             (227)
                                        .2005 ( )
                                                                 .2005 ( )
                                                                                             كرايسز جروب
                                                                                    21
```

```
(233)"
                                                                                                        (230)
                                                                             (231)
                                              2004
                                                                  (232)"
            5
                                                    2005
  (234)
          10
                     1992
                                                 12
                                                                                                                        (230)
                              (235)
      2002
                                                                                                                       2003
                                                                                           .2004 (
                                                      (233)
              .2005 (
                               31
                                                      (234)
                                                                                                                        (231)
                                                2000
                                                                          .2005 (
                                                                                                                        (232)
                                   .2005 (
                                              )
                                                      (235)
Reinoud Leenders, "Public Means to Private "
                                                                                   .2004
                                                                                                           كرايسز جروب
    Ends: State Building and Power in Post-War Lebanon"
                                                                         2004 (
                                                                                    )
                                                                                                                 )
Reinoud Leenders, "Public "
Means to Private Ends: State Building and Power in Post-
                                                                             كرايسز جروب
War Lebanon", in Eberhard Kienle (ed), Politics From
                                                                        28
                                                                                               .2004
                                                                                                               1
Above, Politics From Below: The Middle East in the Age of
                             .(2003
                                      ) Economic Reform
                                                                                                           .2004 (
                                                                                                                      )
```

```
(239)"
                                                - 2004
                      (240)
   .(241)2003.
                                .(242)
                              (243)"
                                                                                  (237)
                         (<sup>(239)</sup> كرايسز جروب
( ) 3
                                                                             .(238)
                                     .2005
     .19 "(1)
                                 كرايسز جروب
     2000 ( )
                                       (240)
      .2004
      .2004 8
                   .2005 ( ) 3
                                     ıı (241)
". كرايسز
   .2005 ( ) 5
                                      جروب
                                                                          (236) كرايسز جروب
   .2005 ( )
                                                   3
   .2005 ( ) 29 " " 2000
                                                                                .2005 ( )
                                    (242)
                                                                                       (237)
                كرايسز جروب
                .2005 ( ) 2004 (
                                     )
                                                .2005 ( )
                                                                                      (238)
    .2005 (
                          (243) کرایسز جروب
    .2005 ( )
                                                               كرايسز جروب ( ) 2005.
```

```
.(
                                                                      )
                                 (250)
               .(251)
  .(252)
                                                                                   .(244)
                                                                                 (245)
                             .(253)
                                                                                   .(246)
                                                                                 (247)
                                                                  2005 ( )
                                               300
                                                                                31 .
                                                                  ( )
                                    " (250)
                                                                                 .(249)
  ". كرايسز جروب
( ) .2005 ( ) 6
 .2005 ( )
                                    ıı (252)
                                                                                        (244)
       كرايسز جروب
                .2005 ( ) 6
                                    ıı (253)
                                                                                        (245)
                                                                                        (246)
                                                                 .2005 ( ) 27
                                                                                        (247)
                  .2005 ( )
                                                            .2005 ( ) 30
                                                                                        (248)
                                                           .2005 ( ) 31
                   .2005 ( ) 30 " "
                                                                                        (249)
                                                            .2005 ( ) 4
```

(256) .(254) (257) .(258)<sub>•</sub> (255) ( ) (کرایسز جروب) .2005 ( ) (254) 1 2005 ( ) 2004 ( ) .2005 ( ) 2 .2005 .2005 ( ) 4 (257) .2005 ( ) (258) كرايسز جروب .2005 ( ) 2 " .2005 ( ıı (255) ) 4

```
" (262)
                 (263)"
                                                                                           (259)
                                                                       26 22 18
                                                         1 ( )
                                                                        (260)
                                                                                                  )
                        (264)
       .(265)
                                                                     .(261)"
                                        .(266)"
                                              (262)
                             كرايسز جروب
                        .2005 ( ) - (
                                                                                                        (259)
                                              (263)
                               كرايسز جروب
                                                                                           90
                                                                                                        (260)
                   .2005 ( ) - ( )
                                              (264)
                               كرايسز جروب
                  .2005 (
                            ) -( )
                                                              .2005 ( ) 19
                                              (265)
                               كرايسز جروب
                                      .2005 ( )
كرايسز
```

جروب

(266)

.2005 (

كرايسز جروب ( ) 2005.

3

(261)

.2005 ( )

.2005 ( )

```
(
                                                                                              )
       .(272)
                                                           (267)
                                                     (
                                                                 (268)
                                .(273)
                                                                           (269)"
                                                                                         100
(274)
                                                                                         (270)
                                                            ( )
                                                          (271)
                                                                                            (267)
                                                                      " كرايسز جروب
              (275)
                                                                               .2005 ( ) 3
                                                      31
                                                                               .2005 ( )
                                                                             (268) كرايسز جروب
                                                     )
                                                                                         .2005
                 %70
                                        %70
                                                                              كرايسز جروب
                                                      3
                                                                                      .2005 ( )
                                                                           2005 ( ) 5
                                                                                            (270)
                                                                              ( )
            .2004 (
                                         (272)
        .2005 ( ) 1
                                         (273)
                                                                                            (271)
            .2005 (
                                         (274)
         )
                                                                              .2005 ( )
                                                   (
                                                                  )
        كرايسز جروب
                                  .2005 ( )
                                         (275)
                                                                        1999 ( )
                     []
                                        .2005
                                                   2004 ( )
                                                                       .2005 ( ) 14
```

```
.(276)"
                                   (280)
                                                                     (277)
                                 (128
                                         27)
      (281)
                                  (34)
                         21
                        (282)
                                                                                (278)
( )
                                        (280)
                                        .2005
                                                                                      .(279)"
                  .2005 ( )
26.2
                              26.5
( )
                              22.1
                     128
                                        .2005
     64:
                            2
                                  27
     64 (
                 8
                                         27)
34)
                                                                                            (276)
                                                                              كرايسز جروب
                                    14
      6
                        . ("
                                                                           .2005 ( ) 1
                                         (282)
                                                                                            (277)
( )
                                                           .2005 ( ) 3
                                                                               كرايسز جروب
                                        2005
                                                                        [ ]
                                                                     ... [
                                                                                      ]
      كرايسز جروب
        227.64
                                                   .2005 ( )
                                                               1
                                                                                            (278)
32) 72.720
                                                                 .2005 (
                                                                                            (279)
                                                                 .2005 (
42.362
      ( 32.2) 73.438
                                        (
```

```
.(286)
                                                                                                  .(283)"
(287)
                                   .(288)
                                                           ( )
                                                                     30
                                                           31
                                                                                                          2005
                                                                                                      .( )
                                          (289)
                                                                   .(284)
                                                                                      )
                                                                                              30
   .(290)
                                                                                         (285)"
                                                (286)
    ) 11
                                               .2005
      .2005 ( )
                     11
        .2005 ( )
                                                (287)
                                                                                                     (
                                                                                                          18.6)
                                                (288)
                                كرايسز جروب
9
                                     .2005 (
                                               ıı (289)
                                                                                      .2005 ( )
                                                                                                         (283)
                                                              )
                                                                                            كرايسز جروب
كرايسز
                      .2005 ( )
                                                                                                          .2005
                                                                                                           (284)
                                                                                                         62
                                                (290)
                                                                                                            (285)
                                                                             .2005 (
                                                                                     )
                                                                                          11
                                                            1988
```

```
)
                                                                   .(291)
                                                                                                                      .(292)
                                             .(295)
                                                                                                             .(293)"
                                            (296)
             )
                                                                       --(294)"
  .(297)
                                                                                                                    2000
                                                                        1
                                                                                                                 كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                                 .2005 ( )
                                                                                                                         (291)
                                .(298)
                                                      (295)
        .2005 (
                                                                                                                 .2005 ( )
                                                       (296)
(
     )
          21
                                                     .2005
                                                       (297)
     1
                                    كرايسز جروب
                                                                               )
                                                                     .2005 (
                                                                                      6
                                              .2005 ( )
                                                                                                                         (292)
                                                                       9
                                                                                                        كرايسز جروب
                                                       (298)
                                                                                                                .2005 (
                                                                                                                          )
                                                                                                       كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                                         (293)
                                                                                      .2005 (
                                                                                                                         (294)
                                                                                                       كرايسز جروب
                .1989
```

```
.5
                                                               .(299)
                                                                            .(300)
                                                                      (301)
                                              Communiqué du )
                                                        1989 ( )
                                                                              24 (Haut Comité Tripartite Arabe
                                                                       1989
                                              Les Cahiers de l'Orient, ) .133-129 17-16
                                                                                                        1990
                                                                  .(4<sup>th</sup> trimester 1989, 1<sup>st</sup> trimester 1990, no. 16-17,
                                                               2005 ( )
                                              .1960
                                                        24
                                                                                              .2005 (
      2005 ( )
                                              (300)
                                                                                                        .2005
                                                              كرايسز جروب
                                                                             2005 ( )
                                                                                                         (301)
.2005 (
                                                                    .2005 ( )
                                                                                   24
```

```
(303)"
                                                                                                       (304)
                                               (305)
                                               1559
                   1559
                                         (306)
                                            2005
                                         (307)
                                             (303)
                              كرايسز جروب
                                                                               (302)
                           .2004 (
                                     )
                                             8
                                             (304)
                        2005 ( )
                                                                                                       30
                                            .2005
                                                                                                       كرايسز
                     .2005 ( )
                                            جروب
                                             (305)
         .2005 ( ) 23 Nicholas Blanford, MERIP
                                             (306)
كرايسز
  .2005 ( )
                                            جروب
                                             (307)
                                                       ( ) 1
                                                                                      كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                      (302)
                        كرايسز جروب ( ) 2005.
                                                                                                    .2005
```

2005 ( ) 12 - 39 44

.(308)

(309)"

(310)

.2005 ( (308)

(309) .2005 (

(310)

.2005

```
.(311)
(315)
(316)
                                                                                                                      (317)
               (318)
                                                   .(312)
                                                      (315)
                                                                                          (313)"
 .2004 (
                                                      (316)
                                                                                        (314)"
                  كرايسز جروب
                                             .2004 (
                                                      )
                                                     (317)
     )
                                                                                                                        (311)
                                                                                   (Solida)
     7
                                                                                                                 200
                                                                  http://www.syrian-jail.com/doc/
                                       .2004 (
                                                                                                                 .detainees/
                                                      (318)
                                                                                                                        (312)
                                                                       .2004 (
                                                                                              6
                                                                                                      كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                      كرايسز جروب
                                                                                                                        (313)
(UNDOF)
                                                                             28
                                                                                                               .2004 (
                                                                                                                         )
                                                                                                                        (314)
                (UNDOF)
                                                                                                      كرايسز جروب
                                             كرايسز جروب
                          .2004 (
                                     )
                                                 2
                                                                                       .2004 (
                                                                                                   )
                                                                                                              6
```

```
(319)
                       " (323)"
                                                                               (320)
             .(324)1559
                                                                                                   .(325)
                                                                              (321)
                                                                                                   (322)
                          .2005 ( ) 6
            .(2005 ) "
                                                                                                    (319)
.2005 ( )
                    25 (
                          ) (BBC) . .
                                                       ( )
                                                                                                   .2005
                                                                                                    (320)
                                             (323)
  .(2
                                             (324)
                                                                                                   (321)
                                                                           .2000
كرايسز
                      .2005 ( )
                                             (325)
                                                                                                  (1000)
                                                       23 (CNN)
                                                                            2005 ( )
                                                                                          .2005 (
                                                                                                    (322)
   .2005 ( )
                                                                    كرايسز جروب
```

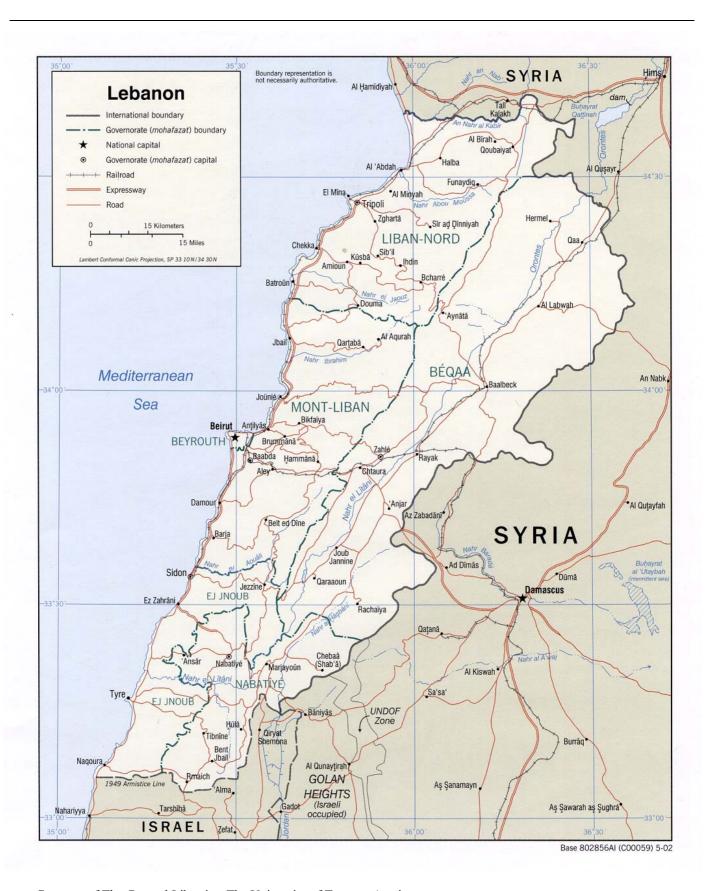
*2005 ( ) 12 – 39* 

```
__(329)
                                                               2004 ( )
                                                                        (326)
        (330)"
(331)425
                                                                        (327)
              (332)
     (
                 68
                                         (329)
                     .2005 (
                                                                                  (328)
                                         (330)
           .2005 (
                                         (331)
                    (UNIFIL)
                                                                                                (326)
                    .2005 ( ) ( )
                       (UNIFIL)
5
                                                                                         .2005 ( )
          (UNIFIL)
                                  كرايسز جروب
                                  .2005 ( )
                                        (332)
                                                                              2005 ( )
                                                                               .2005 ( )
                                                                                                (328)
                                                     2001 ( )
                                                   500
                  .2005 ( )
                                                       2002 ( )
                                                                             2
```

4.4

. ( )

2005 ( ) 12 / /



```
( )5
               40
                                       12
                                               CrisisWatch
                                                            .www.crisisgroup.org)
(
   )
                                                                       . 2000
2005
```

www.crisisgroup.org

#### 2002

# ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

A Time to Lead: The International Community and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Middle East Report N°1, 10 April 2002

Middle East Endgame 1: Getting to a Comprehensive Arab-Israeli Peace Settlement, Middle East Report N°2, 16 July 2002

*Middle East Endgame II: How a Comprehensive Israeli-Palestinian Settlement Would Look*, Middle East Report N°3; 16 July 2002

Middle East Endgame III: Israel, Syria and Lebanon – How Comprehensive Peace Settlements Would Look, Middle East Report N°4, 16 July 2002

*The Meanings of Palestinian Reform,* Middle East Briefing N°2, 12 November 2002

*Old Games, New Rules: Conflict on the Israel-Lebanon Border*, Middle East Report N°7, 18 November 2002

Islamic Social Welfare Activism in the Occupied Palestinian Territories: A Legitimate Target?, Middle East Report N°13, 2 April 2003

**A Middle East Roadmap to Where?**, Middle East Report N°14, 2 May 2003

The Israeli-Palestinian Roadmap: What A Settlement Freeze Means And Why It Matters, Middle East Report N°16, 25 July 2003

*Hizbollah: Rebel without a Cause?*, Middle East Briefing N°7, 30 July 2003

**Dealing With Hamas**, Middle East Report N°21, 26 January 2004 (also available in Arabic)

**Palestinian Refugees and the Politics of Peacemaking**, Middle East Report N°22, 5 February 2004

Syria under Bashar (I): Foreign Policy Challenges, Middle East Report N°23, 11 February 2004 (also available in Arabic)

*Syria under Bashar (II): Domestic Policy Challenges*, Middle East Report N°24, 11 February 2004 (also available in Arabic)

*Identity Crisis: Israel and its Arab Citizens*, Middle East Report N°25, 4 March 2004

The Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative: Imperilled at Birth, Middle East Briefing N°13, 7 June 2004

Who Governs the West Bank? Palestinian Administration under Israeli Occupation, Middle East Report N°32, 28 September 2004 (also available in Arabic and in Hebrew)

**After Arafat? Challenges and Prospects**, Middle East Briefing N°16, 23 December 2004 (also available in Arabic)

Disengagement and After: Where Next for Sharon and the Likud?, Middle East Report N°36, 1 March 2005

# EGYPT/NORTH AFRICA

*Diminishing Returns: Algeria's 2002 Legislative Elections*, Middle East/North Africa Briefing N°1, 24 June 2002

Algeria: Unrest and Impasse in Kabylia, Middle East/North Africa Report N°15, 10 June 2003 (also available in French)

*The Challenge of Political Reform: Egypt after the Iraq War*, Middle East Briefing N°9, 30 September 2003

*Islamism in North Africa I: The Legacies of History*, Middle East and North Africa Briefing N°12, 20 April 2004)

*Islamism in North Africa II: Egypt's Opportunity*, Middle East and North Africa Briefing N°13, 20 April 2004

Islamism, Violence and Reform in Algeria: Turning the Page, Middle East and North Africa Report N°29, 30 July 2004 (also available in Arabic and in French)

*Understanding Islamism*, Middle East Report N°37, 2 March 2005

# IRAQ/IRAN/GULF

*Iran: The Struggle for the Revolution's Soul*, Middle East Report N°5, 5 August 2002

*Iraq Backgrounder: What Lies Beneath*, Middle East Report N°6, 1 October 2002

Voices from the Iraqi Street, Middle East Briefing N°3, 4 December 2002

Yemen: Coping with Terrorism and Violence in a Fragile State, Middle East Report N°8, 8 January 2003

**Radical Islam in Iraqi Kurdistan: The Mouse That Roared?** Middle East Briefing N°4, 7 February 2003

**Red Alert in Jordan: Recurrent Unrest in Maan, Middle East** Briefing N°5, 19 February 2003

*Iraq Policy Briefing: Is There an Alternative to War?*, Middle East Report N°9, 24 February 2003

*War in Iraq: What's Next for the Kurds?*, Middle East Report N°10, 19 March 2003

War in Iraq: Political Challenges after the Conflict, Middle East Report N°11, 25 March 2003

*War in Iraq: Managing Humanitarian Relief*, Middle East Report N°12, 27 March 2003

**Baghdad:** A Race against the Clock, Middle East Briefing N°6, 11 June 2003

*Governing Iraq*, Middle East Report N°17, 25 August 2003 *Iraq's Shiites under Occupation*, Middle East Briefing N°8, 9 September 2003

The Challenge of Political Reform: Jordanian Democratisation and Regional Instability, Middle East Briefing N°10, 8 October 2003 (also available in Arabic)

*Iran: Discontent and Disarray*, Middle East Briefing N°11, 15 October 2003

**Dealing With Iran's Nuclear Program**, Middle East Report N°18, 27 October 2003

*Iraq's Constitutional Challenge*, Middle East Report N°19, 13 November 2003 (also available in Arabic)

*Iraq: Building a New Security Structure*, Middle East Report N°20, 23 December 2003

*Iraq's Kurds: Toward an Historic Compromise?*, Middle East Report N°26, 8 April 2004 (also available in Arabic)

*Iraq's Transition: On a Knife Edge*, Middle East Report N°27, 27 April 2004 (also available in Arabic)

*Can Saudi Arabia Reform Itself?*, Middle East Report N°28, 14 July 2004 (also available in Arabic)

**Reconstructing Iraq**, Middle East Report N°30, 2 September 2004 (also available in Arabic)

*Saudi Arabia Backgrounder: Who are the Islamists?*, Middle East Report N°31, 21 September 2004 (also available in Arabic)

*Iraq: Can Local Governance Save Central Government?*, Middle East Report N°33, 27 October 2004 (also available in Arabic)

*Iran: Where Next on the Nuclear Standoff*, Middle East Briefing N°15, 24 November 2004

What Can the U.S. Do in Iraq?, Middle East Report N°34, 22 December 2004 (also available in Arabic)

*Iraq: Allaying Turkey's Fears Over Kurdish Ambitions*, Middle East Report N°35, 26 January 2005 (also available in Arabic)

*Iran in Iraq: How Much Influence?*, Middle East Report N°38, 21 March 2005

# OTHER REPORTS AND BRIEFINGS

For Crisis Group reports and briefing papers on:

- Asia
- Africa
- Europe
- Latin America and Caribbean
- Thematic Issues
- CrisisWatch

please visit our website www.crisisgroup.org

## Chair

#### **Lord Patten of Barnes**

Former European Commissioner for External Relations, UK

President & CEO

#### **Gareth Evans**

Former Foreign Minister of Australia

**Executive Committee** 

## **Morton Abramowitz**

Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Turkey

#### Emma Bonino

Member of European Parliament; former European Commissioner

### **Cheryl Carolus**

Former South African High Commissioner to the UK; former Secretary General of the ANC

## Maria Livanos Cattaui\*

Secretary-General, International Chamber of Commerce

#### Yoichi Funabashi

Chief Diplomatic Correspondent & Columnist, The Asahi Shimbun, Japan

# **William Shawcross**

Journalist and author, UK

# Stephen Solarz\*

Former U.S. Congressman

# **George Soros**

Chairman, Open Society Institute

# William O. Taylor

Chairman Emeritus, The Boston Globe, U.S.

\*Vice-Chair

#### Adnan Abu-Odeh

Former Political Adviser to King Abdullah II and to King Hussein; former Jordan Permanent Representative to UN

# Kenneth Adelman

Former U.S. Ambassador and Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

## Ersin Arioglu

Member of Parliament, Turkey; Chairman Emeritus, Yapi Merkezi Group

# Diego Arria

Former Ambassador of Venezuela to the UN

## **Zbigniew Brzezinski**

Former U.S. National Security Advisor to the President

# **Victor Chu**

Chairman, First Eastern Investment Group, Hong Kong

## Wesley Clark

Former NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Europe

#### Pat Cox

Former President of European Parliament

#### **Ruth Dreifuss**

Former President, Switzerland

## **Uffe Ellemann-Jensen**

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark

# Mark Eyskens

Former Prime Minister of Belgium

## **Stanley Fischer**

Vice Chairman, Citigroup Inc.; former First Deputy Managing Director of International Monetary Fund

## Leslie H. Gelb

President Emeritus of Council on Foreign Relations, U.S.

# **Bronislaw Geremek**

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland

# I.K. Gujral

Former Prime Minister of India

#### Carla Hills

Former U.S. Secretary of Housing; former U.S. Trade Representative

#### Lena Hjelm-Wallén

Former Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister, Sweden

# James C.F. Huang

Deputy Secretary General to the President, Taiwan

# **Swanee Hunt**

Chair of Inclusive Security: Women Waging Peace; former U.S. Ambassador to Austria

# Asma Jahangir

UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions; former Chair Human Rights Commission of Pakistan

# Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

Senior Advisor, Modern Africa Fund Managers; former Liberian Minister of Finance and Director of UNDP Regional Bureau for Africa

# Shiv Vikram Khemka

Founder and Executive Director (Russia) of SUN Group, India

# James V. Kimsey

Founder and Chairman Emeritus of America Online, Inc. (AOL)

# **Bethuel Kiplagat**

Former Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya

# Wim Kok

Former Prime Minister. Netherlands

# Trifun Kostovski

Member of Parliament, Macedonia; founder of Kometal Trade Gmbh

# Elliott F. Kulick

 ${\it Chairman, Pegasus International, U.S.}$ 

54 2005 ( 12 -39

# Joanne Leedom-Ackerman

Novelist and journalist, U.S.

# **Todung Mulya Lubis**

Human rights lawyer and author, Indonesia

# Barbara McDougall

Former Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada

Chair of Steering Committee of World Movement for Democracy, Nigeria

#### **Christine Ockrent**

Journalist and author, France

# Friedbert Pflüger

Foreign Policy Spokesman of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group in the German Bundestag

## Victor M Pinchuk

Member of Parliament, Ukraine; founder of Interpipe Scientific and Industrial Production Group

#### **Surin Pitsuwan**

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand

## **Itamar Rabinovich**

President of Tel Aviv University; former Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. and Chief Negotiator with Syria

# Fidel V. Ramos

Former President of the Philippines

## **Lord Robertson of Port Ellen**

Former Secretary General of NATO; former Defence Secretary, UK

## **Mohamed Sahnoun**

Special Adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General on Africa

# Ghassan Salamé

Former Minister Lebanon, Professor of International Relations, Paris

#### Salim A. Salim

Former Prime Minister of Tanzania; former Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity

# **Douglas Schoen**

Founding Partner of Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, U.S.

#### Pär Stenbäck

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Finland

## **Thorvald Stoltenberg**

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway

# **Grigory Yavlinsky**

Chairman of Yabloko Party and its Duma faction, Russia

# **Uta Zapf**

Chairperson of the German Bundestag Subcommittee on Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-proliferation

#### **Ernesto Zedillo**

Former President of Mexico; Director, Yale Center for the Study of Globalization

# INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

Crisis Group's International Advisory Board comprises major individual and corporate donors who contribute their advice and experience to Crisis Group on a regular basis.

Rita E. Hauser (Chair)

Tilleke & Gibbins Marc Abramowitz George Kellner **International LTD Anglo American PLC George Loening Baron Ullens** John Chapman Chester **Douglas Makepeace Stanley Weiss Peter Corcoran** Anna Luisa Ponti **Westfield Group Credit Suisse Group Quantm** Yasuyo Yamazaki John Ehara Michael L. Riordan Sunny Yoon

**Equinox Management Partners Community Endowment Fund** Morgan Global Foreign

Sarlo Foundation of the Jewish

# SENIOR ADVISERS

**Exchange and Commodities** 

Crisis Group's Senior Advisers are former Board Members (not presently holding executive office) who maintain an association with Crisis Group, and whose advice and support are called on from time to time.

Oscar Arias Alain Destexhe Simone Veil Matt McHugh Zainab Bangura Marika Fahlen George J. Mitchell Michael Sohlman Christoph Bertram Malcolm Fraser Mo Mowlam Leo Tindemans Jorge Castañeda Max Jakobson Cyril Ramaphosa Ed van Thijn Eugene Chien Mong Joon Chung Michel Rocard Shirley Williams

Gianfranco Dell'Alba Allan J. MacEachen Volker Ruehe As of April 2005